

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 05546 271014Z

21

ACTION A-01

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 H-03 SS-07 NSC-06 /024 W

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P R 270750Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6783

INFO COMUSTDC

CINCPAC

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 5546

TDC FOR J-1

CINCPAC FOR J003 AND POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OREP, (ADDABBO, JOSEPH P.)

SUBJECT: CODEL ADDABBO

1. SUMMARY: CODEL ADDABBO VISITED TAIWAN FOR TWO AND ONE-HALF DAYS AUGUST 23 - AUGUST 26 DURING WHICH MAIN INTERESTS WERE IN US MILITARY ACTIVITY AND THE GROG/US MILITARY RELATIONSHIP. END SUMMARY.

2. CODEL ARRIVED IN TAIPEI SATURDAY AFTERNOON AUGUST 23, RESTED ON SUNDAY AUGUST 24 (ALTHOUGH SOME MEMBERS TOURED THE NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM), HAD A FULL DAY OF OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS ON MONDAY, AUGUST 25, AND DEPARTED EARLY MORNING OF AUGUST 26.

3. FIRST BRIEFING ON AUGUST 25 WAS A ONE-HOUR MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR FOR DISCUSSION OF THE POLITICAL SETTING OF THE CHINA QUESTION AS SEEN FROM TAIWAN. THIS INCLUDED DISCUSSION ON THE PROSPECTS FOR NORMALIZATION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR TAIWAN'S FUTURE OF U.S. DE-RECOGNITION OF GROG. MOST MEMBERS OF CODEL SEEMED PRIMARILY INTERESTED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TAIPEI 05546 271014Z

IN SEEKING THE EMBASSY'S ASSESSMENT OF POSSIBLE WAYS TO

CONTINUE U.S. REPRESENTATION HERE AND COMMITMENT TO THE ROC IN SPITE OF THE ESTABLISHED GOAL OF NORMALIZATION WITH THE PRC. SEVERAL STATED THEIR BELIEF THAT US POLICY APPEARED TO BE ON A COLLISION COURSE WITH CURRENT SENTIMENT IN THE US WHICH FAVORED CONTINUATION OF HISTORICALLY CLOSE US-ROC TIES.

4. DURING THE MILITARY BRIEFING, CODEL'S PRIME INTEREST APPEARED TO BE THE SIZE OF THE US MILITARY PRESENCE IN TAIWAN AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE US/ROC MILITARY RELATIONSHIP OF POSSIBLE RECOGNITION IF THE PRC. MEMBERS OF THE CODEL SPECIFICALLY RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF REMOVING TDC FROM TAIWAN AND PERFORMING FUNCTIONS FROM ANOTHER LOCATION. COMUSTDC AND CHIEF MAAG EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ROLES OF THESE TWO PRINCIPAL AMERICAN MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS HERE.

5. DURING A CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER SHEN CHANG-HUAN, THE CODEL HAD A WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION OF THE EAST ASIAN SCENE AND US/ROC RELATIONS. SHEN SAID THAT THE ROC HOPES TO BE A "WORTHY FRIEND AND RELIABLE ALLY." WHEN CODEL AGAIN RAISED THE QUESTION CONCERNING THE FUTURE OF MAAG AND TDC, THE FOREIGN MINISTER NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS AS SYMBOLS OF THE US COMMITMENT TO THE ROC. HE SAID THAT TO WITHDRAW THEM WOULD CREATE MUCH SPECULATION ABOUT US INTENTIONS. HE POINTED OUT THAT SUCH AN ACTION WOULD BE "PENNY WISE AND POUND FOOLISH" BECAUSE ONCE WITHDRAWN THESE ORGANIZATIONS WOULD BE VERY EXPENSIVE TO REESTABLISH. HE ALSO COMMENTED THAT THE PRC WOULD BE HAPPY WITH WITHDRAWAL OF TDC AND MAAG SINCE IT WOULD "OFFER TAIWAN TO THEM ON A SILVER PLATTER."

6. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, MINISTER SHEN SAID THAT THE ROC DID NOT DESIRE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATIES WITH SOUTH KOREA AND JAPAN BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS IN JAPAN AND BECAUSE KOREA IS IN A "VERY VULNERABLE" MILITARY POSITION. HE POINTED OUT THAT ALL THREE NATIONS HAVE BILATERAL TREATIES WITH THE US AND THESE SERVE TO LINK THEM DEFENSIVELY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TAIPEI 05546 271014Z

7. SHEN ALSO SAID THAT THE GROC IS NOT AFRAID OF THE PRC BUT IS AFRAID OF THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE IT MIGHT "SELL US OUT" TO THE PRC. TAIWAN HAS INTERNAL UNITY, A LOW KEY FOREIGN POLICY, AND A GOOD ECONOMY. IF LEFT ALONE, "IT CAN MAKE IT ON ITS OWN," HE CLAIMED. AS LONG AS THE US MAINTAINED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND A DEFENSE TREATY WITH TAIWAN, THE PRC WILL NOT ATTACK.

8. HOUSE STAFF MEMBER VANDER SCHAAF ASKED WHETHER THE GROC WOULD BE WILLING TO PERMIT THE US TO TRANSFER ITS BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES TO TAIWAN. RECALLING THAT DURING THE VIETNAM WAR THE ROC HAD PROVIDED FULL FACILITIES FOR US MILITARY OPERATIONS, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT IF THE US WANTED TO MOVE FORCES TO TAIWAN, THERE WOULD BE NO QUESTION ABOUT WELCOMING THEM. HE SAID "WHAT WE HAVE IS AT YOUR DISPOSAL. WE ARE YOUR ALLY."

9. IN THE AFTERNOON, CODEL CALLED ON NI WEN-YA, PRESIDENT OF THE LEGISLATIVE YUAN. THIS WAS CLEARLY A COURTESY VISIT AND THERE WERE NO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS.

10. DURING A CALL ON GENERAL LAI MING-TANG, THE CHINESE MILITARY PROVIDED AN EXTENSIVE BRIEFING ON GROC ARMED FORCES, US AID, AND THE COMMUNIST THREAT. THE CODEL EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN THE SIZE OF THE GROC MILITARY AND THE PERCENTAGE OF OFFICERS AND MEN WHO ARE CAREER. ONE MEMBER QUESTIONED THE WISDOM OF THE GROC'S CONTINUED INTEREST IN LARGE (US\$80 MILLION PER YEAR). FMS CREDITS BEYOND FY 75 BECAUSE OF THE LONG TERM REPAYMENT PROBLEMS. STAFFER VANDER SHAAF WAS CRITICAL OF THE HIGH PERCENTAGE OF THE MILITARY BUDGET DEVOTED TO O AND M AND LOW PERCENTAGE FOR ACQUISITION OF NEW EQUIPMENT AND NOTED THAT THE ROC APPARENTLY WAS MUCH MORE SUCCESSFUL IN SHIFTING FUNDS TO THE ECQUISITION SIDE.

11. FOLLOWING THE MEETING WITH GENERAL LAI, VANDER SHAAF COMMENTED TO THE CONTROL OFFICER THAT THE GROC WAS NOT BEING REALISTIC IN ITS DESIRE FOR CONTINUED FMS CREDITS OF US\$80 MILLION PER YEAR BEYOND FY 76. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 TAIPEI 05546 271014Z

THE GROC SHOULD LOOK TO THE ISRAELI MODEL WITH ITS SMALL STANDING ARMY AND LARGE RESERVES TO HELP REDUCE O AND M COSTS.

12. IN A HALF-HOUR SESSION WITH PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO (CCK), CONVERSATION WAS LARGELY GENERAL IN NATURE WITH CCK EMPHASIZING GROC EMPHASIS ON SELF-RELIANCE. HE NOTED INCREASED U.S. CONCERN OVER EAST ASIAN SECURITY SINCE THE INDOCHINA COLLAPSE AND EMPHASIZED THAT TAIWAN IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE SECURITY SYSTEM INVOLVING JAPAN AND KOREA, TO WHICH THE U.S. IS CURRENTLY PAYING INCREASED ATTENTION. HE EMPHASIZED THE LONG-STANDING CLOSE US-ROC RELATIONS AS ALLIES AND PLEDGED A CONTINUING ROC CONTRIBUTION TO AREA SECURITY. HE HOPED THAT TAIWAN WOULD HAVE CONTINUED ACCESS TO PURCHASE U.S. WEAPONS AND UP-TO-DATE TECHNOLOGY.

13. IN REPLY TO REPRESENTATIVE GIAIMO'S QUESTION ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS ON THE MAINLAND, CCK REFERRED TO REPORTS OF ARMY CALLED IN TO HANDL DISORDERS AND "FACTIONALISM" IN HANGCHOW, KINMING AND ELSEWHERE; HE SAID THE PARTY WAS NOT ABLE CONTROL SITUATION.

14. REPRESENTATIVE COUGHLIN IN THIS AND OTHER MESSAGES PURSUED THE IDEA OF JAPAN, SOUTH KOREA AND TAIWAN GETTING TOGETHER IN A COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENT; CHINESE OFFICIALS ALL EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE PRACTICALITY AND DESIRABILITY OF SUCH.

15. IN A RATHER BRIEF MEETING WITH PRESIDENT YEN, SOME OF THE SAME GROUND WAS COVERED AS WITH THE PREMIER. CONGRESSMAN ADDABBO ASKED A DIRECT QUESTION AS TO WHAT HELP FROM THE U.S. THE GROC WOULD EXPECT IN CASE OF ATTACK BY THE PRC -- WOULD IT BE GROUND FORCES OR NAVY AND AIR FORCE? THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY EMPHASIZED A DESIRE ABOVE ALL FOR MORAL SUPPORT AND HOPE THAT THE GROC WOULD BE ABLE TAKE CARE OF ITS PROBLEM ITSELF. ON BEING PRESSED, HE SAID THAT IF THERE WERE A LARGE-SCALE ATTACK SOMETHING MORE THAN MORAL SUPPORT MIGHT BE REQUIRED, BUT HE STILL STEERED AWAY FROM GROUND FORCES. HE DID REFER TO THE NEED FOR MATERIEL AND IMPLIED AIR AND NAVAL SUPPORT MIGHT BE REQUIRED. PRESIDENT YEN DODGED ANSWERING A QUESTION ON WHETHER THE CHINESE PEOPLE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 TAIPEI 05546 271014Z

HAVE ANY CONFIDENCE IN U.S. COMING TO THEIR HELP IN CASE OF ATTACK.

16. AT MEETING WITH ONE OR MORE MEMBERS LOCAL PRESS CORPS (SINCE THIS NOT ATTENDED BY ANY MISSION REPRESENTATIVE ITS ACCURACY CANNOT BE JUDGED) EARLY ON THE MORNING OF HIS DEPARTURE, CONGRESSMAN ADDABBO REPORTEDLY MADE SOME COMMENTS, HIGHLIGHTS OF WHICH ARE AS FOLLOWS (FULL TEXT OF UPI STORY BEING SENT DEPTTEL):

--THE UNITED STATES WILL DEFINITELY SEND MILITARY AID TO TAIWAN IF A WAR BREAKS OUT BETWEEN MAINLAND CHINA AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

--TAIWAN COULD EXPECT THE UNITED STATES TO SEND JUST ABOUT EVERY KIND OF MILITARY AID, EXCEPT GROUND TROOPS.

--THERE WILL BE NO CHANGE IN THE NEAR FUTURE AT LEAST IN U.S. MILITARY COMMITMENTS TO TAIWAN.

--THE CONTINUED U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE HERE IS A REAL CONCERN TO THE CHINESE LEADERS IN TAIWAN AND THEY THINK THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE HERE WILL ACT AS A DETERRENT.

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## Message Attributes

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